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## NORWEGIAN SURNAMES

### WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORTHOGRAPHY AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE

The place-names and surnames of Norway exhibit a complexity not paralleled, perhaps, in any other West-European country, unless it be England. In the cities especially one meets with a surprising variety of form, and a considerable proportion of the names seem not to be Norwegian at all. One finds, e.g., combinations of consonants that are foreign to the orthographic system of the written language to-day; or if the combination of letters are familiar and regular enough, they are pronounced in a way quite different from the pronunciation that obtains in the regular vocabulary of the spoken language. This is most noticeable in Christiania and in Bergen. But it is also true of the names of the small towns and of the country at large, though here to a much smaller degree.

All this would suggest extensive foreign influence as a very important factor in the history of Norwegian names. There has, indeed, been foreign influence and I shall speak of that somewhat in detail below. But it would be hasty in this case to attribute the non-Norwegian look of a name to some foreign influence. Now there are various groups of names of Bohemian, Polish, Lithuanian, Italian, or French appearance, which actually are of this origin. They have come in in comparatively recent times most of them and have generally preserved their original spelling. Such names, coming in from more or less remotely related languages, are readily recognized. But in the case of the far more important groups of names of apparently Dutch or German (and Swiss) form, and particularly in those which have English and Scottish form, the foreign aspect of the name is no longer any test at all of its foreign source. Identity of form as between Norwegian and British names to-day is very often the result of parallel development and simplification in the same direction in the two languages.

By reason of the manner of their origin the place-names and the family-names of a country often tell much about local physiography,

and they will always be of the greatest importance for local history. Other records failing, the place-names furnish a key to the history of the age of settlement from which one may in considerable measure reconstruct the course of settlement. There are, of course, many other things that they may be made to disclose. And in particular with reference to ethnic questions place-names and surnames both are a main source of information.

In general a body of names of linguistically mixed origin indicate a corresponding mixture in the ethnic make-up of the people of such a locality. On the other hand a pure stock of names would be a fairly safe criterion that the past history of such a people has not been modified ethnically by any considerable admixture of foreign blood. Of course it is conceivable that there may have been a considerable influx of foreign element after the period in which the place-names of a locality originated, in which case this new ethnic element would only be reflected in the family-names, not in the place-names. It is also conceivable that the prestige of the language and the native names of the country may prompt the bearer of a foreign name to change it in accordance with the forms of native names. Especially pronounced has this custom been here in America, so that the actual number of non-English names is no longer an adequate test at all of the proportion of the non-English element in the population. To some extent this tendency has operated in Norway also, so that the foreign source is no longer evidenced in the new form. It may also happen that a foreign influence will set a fashion for a time, resulting in the obliteration of the native form, and such new foreign form may become definitely established in the locality and in the language. We may recall, as an instance, the Scandinavianization of English words and names in the Danelaw of the XI-XII centuries. Hence the student of English names must always keep in mind the possibility that a name which is formally Norse or Danish may perfectly well be a native English name.<sup>1</sup> But such a condition will generally obtain only where the foreign influence has been especially intimate and of long duration, as, e.g., the Norse-Danish influence in England and Lowland Scotland, or Danish influence in Norway during the period of union with

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Björkman: *Nordische Personennamen in England*, 1910, pp. 197 ff.

Denmark. Finally, names of foreign settlers in a country may be changed by native speakers, if their form is especially strange to the native ear or eye. Here in America during the period of settlement of the Middle West the name of the immigrant settler was often changed by suggestion of the clerk in the land office.<sup>2</sup>

There enter, then, many factors into the influences that give a name its ultimate form. The causes are complex for they are ethnological, social, and psychological; but there are other influences that are equally powerful toward bringing about the final result. These are the tendencies and the laws of the language of which they become a part. When a citizen becomes naturalized in a new country his name enters upon a process of naturalization in the language of that country. By that I do not mean the radical changes referred to above by which a name by a process of substitution suddenly takes on a new form. But I mean the slow processes of levelling and sound-change, imperceptible from generation to generation, by which a word in the course of two or three hundred years, or it may be a thousand years, finally comes to assume a form quite different from the original one, forms which often may be recognized as related only by the philologist. Or it may be that some subtle analogy has modified a name contrary to phonological law, just as this tendency so often has operated in the inflexions of Norwegian.

We have said that a name may by native change come to assume a spelling which is identical with a foreign name. If then that particular word from which it was composed has died out or is extremely rare in the language to-day the unusual name may be deceptive enough. But there are plenty of instances in which a word formerly in common use in a language is preserved only in some name. Herein lies of course a great linguistic value of the study of names. The Norwegian name *Scott* is a case in point. The name has its source in the word *skott*, 'fog,' and must have had its origin in the habitual fogginess of the place that came to be so named. In the meantime the word *skott* is no longer used in the language except as a localism.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Knutson*, e.g., was by one clerk understood as *Newton* and so recorded. See Flom: *History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States*, p. 352.

Let us now briefly note other instances of identity of Norwegian and non-Norwegian names.<sup>3</sup>

The names *Hall* and *Frost* are in Norway not necessarily the names of English settlers or residents but have their earlier equivalent in the Old Norse *Halli* and *Frosti*. In cases of this kind it would seem the personal name usually stood in the genitive case originally, and the second element of the compound has disappeared by what we may call a process of subtraction. Other names of this type are: *West* < *Westby*, *Gill* < *Gilhus*, *Lund* < *Lundby*, *Black* or *Blakk* < *Blakkestad*, *Thorne* < *Thornæ*, and the name *Moss*, which is merely a local variation of the name *Mjøss*.

The names *How* and *Hoff* are local variations, with retention of archaic orthography, of the Norwegian *Hove*, which is by far the most common form; they have no relation to the English or the German names that they resemble. The Name *Wahl* looks very much like an importation from Germany, though it is also a common enough Swedish name. It is a very rare name in Norway, a rare orthographic form of the East Norwegian *Hval*, Old Norse *hvál*, 'the main building of a farm-stead,' which is its source. In Eastern Norway *h* in the combination *hv* became silent as in Danish and South Swedish. Back in the early part of the modern period, when *v* was often written *w* and the length of the vowel was often indicated by a following *h*, the name naturally came to be written *Wahl*. The name *Waler* again is but another way of writing this same name.

Some of the names that have an English appearance have arisen by loss of sounds and the letters that spell them in the body of the word, or by the assimilation of two sounds into one. Thus we have *Tisdal* from *Tistedal* and *Rom* from *Roum*, which goes back to a still earlier *Raaum*.

Among names that would clearly seem to be of German or South Danish origin is *Holst*, and yet this too is usually a native Norwegian name. Its source is twofold: in one case it comes from

<sup>3</sup> For many of the examples used I am indebted to the lists in *Vore Familienavne* by P. D. Smidt, 1910, and *Bergens Borgerbog, 1550-1751*, Christiania, 1878. Medieval variation are abundantly illustrated in O. Rygh's *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stednavn*, Christiania, 1901, and on every page in his *Norske Gaardnavne*.

the first part of the name *Holsmark* in Lier, in which instance the *s* has developed an inorganic *t* after it, as shown in the variant writing *Holstmark*; in the other case it comes from the word *holt* in the genitive case and with metathesis of *ts* to *st*. Finally, the un-Norwegian forms *Graff*, *Rothe*, *Schaar* and *Schwenke* are not names of Dutch, English, or German settlers in Norway as the names might suggest, but merely archaic spellings from an earlier period of the forms: *Grav*(-dal), *Rot* (see below), *Skaar* and *Svenkerud*. And while many of the names in *-mann* are of German origin they are also often native. Thus *Garman*, a Stavanger name (cp. Kielland's *Garman & Worse*), was once written *Gaarmand*, and the name *Hagemann* is nothing else than *hagemanden*, that is, the gardener or the caretaker of an orchard.

The reduction of compound names into short-names by subtraction illustrated in the names *West* and *Holst* is frequently met with in native names, as, e.g., *Gran* < *Granlid*, *Lind* < *Lindvik*, *Rogne* < *Rogneberg*, (other examples above); sometimes it is the second component part that remains as in *Ruud* < *Bergeruud*. But of course short-names or one-theme names are as characteristic of Old Norse as of Modern Norwegian. I shall speak below of the variations met with in names of this kind.

Now undoubtedly a proportionately rather considerable number of Norwegian names are imported, for large numbers of Danes, North Germans, Hollanders, and Scotchmen settled in Norway during, especially, the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. And yet the great majority of Norwegian names are of course native. As has been indicated, the present form of these names is as a rule no very trustworthy test of origin; we have to know something more about the name. What are the factors then that enter into the orthography of these unusually spelled native names?

It has already been noted that one of these causes is to be found in the archaic spelling of proper names. Names are often very conservative things even in a country the language of which is so progressive as is the language of Norway. The written forms of a language being fixed, for a longer or shorter time, will as we know, always lag somewhat behind the spoken language which is never in a state of fixity, but is always in the process of change and growth. From a particular point in time the

spoken language will gradually differentiate itself from its written form. From time to time a readjustment is, therefore, necessary. As a matter of fact the written language is continually being readjusted in this way, for in its growth the written language is merely the effort, by means of certain symbols, to record the words of the living language of every-day speech. Now the written language tends to uniformity. Within the limits of that which has the sanction of good usage the written language will gradually select a best spelling in accordance with a best pronunciation, until in the course of time a certain spelling comes to be regarded as the correct literary form; all other spellings become odd, unusual, "incorrect."

In the writing of proper names it is, however, very often the opposite principle that operates in the selection of certain forms. While in the case of a common noun the one word is a kind of collective symbol that represents a whole class, a large number of objects, here, in the proper name, we have one word that is so highly particularized that it is meant to be used for only one single object, the person who is the rightful possessor of that name. Now since names generally originate out of native material and in certain well-defined ways, and as the stock of words that form the raw material for such names is relatively limited, and is about the same in the different parts of the country, it follows that duplicates are apt to be very frequent even in a comparatively small area. The same name, therefore, comes to stand for different individuals. Certain names may come to be used by a great many individuals, as, e.g. the name Smith or Brown in England, or patronymics in *-sen* in Denmark and *-son* in Norway and Sweden; or finally as the farm names *Haug*, *Vold*, and *Tveit* in Norway. To the extent that such names no longer designate unmistakably a particular person they do not serve their purpose quite as adequately as do the less common personal names. Names which in the past have come to assume different forms have taken these varying forms partly in the natural way of being but varying spellings of the same name in an age when the spelling of words was not so fixed as now; partly, however, as the arbitrary forms given their names by persons who desired in that way more fully to particularize their names by thus differentiating them orthographically from the same name as borne by others. Contrary to the condition with the words of the lan-

guage, therefore, which tended to uniformity, there operates, here the principle of differentiation. I shall take certain groups of names by way of illustration.

Both in *Riksmåal* and *Landsmaal* it is a principle of spelling to-day that a long vowel is written single; if it be initial or medial in position it is followed by one consonant, which therefore becomes a sign of the quantity of the vowel, as *dal*, *aker*, etc. On the other hand a short vowel is followed by two consonants, which, therefore, is a sign of the length of the preceding vowel, as *amt*, *bakke*, *land*. A long consonant is by rule written double, except in final position,<sup>4</sup> but a long vowel has long ago ceased to be so written. The language no longer needs this orthographic device for indicating the length of the vowel.<sup>5</sup> But in the Middle Norwegian period, and long after, it was a common practice to indicate the length of a vowel by doubling it. It is as a survival of this method of spelling that the names *Huus*, *Juul*, *Friis*, *Thiis*, *Viig*, *Steen*, *Cloos*, *Knoop*, *Kjuus*, *Roos*, the second element *-green* in such names as *Alstergreen*, *Wettergreen*, etc., and the first syllable in the names *Geelmuyden* and *Schaathun*, are spelled with double vowels to-day. The number of this class of names is not very large in Norway to-day but there are certain old names which remain as the living reminders of a once prevailing practice.

In the 16th century German influence introduced two new ways of designating vowel length, namely by writing an *h* after the vowel, or by placing an *e* after it. During this time, therefore, the name *Nor*, in addition to being written *Noor*, might also be written *Nohr* and *Noer*, and this is the form that usually remains to-day. A similar un-Norwegian combination of vowel + *h* appears further in the names: *Mohn*, *Dahl*, *Blehr*, *Mohr*, *Prahl*, *Lahn*, *Wahl*, *Opsahl*, *Myhre*, *Tormøhlen*, and others. The name *Olson* was not uncommonly spelled *Ohlson* formerly, but this writing is now extremely rare in Norway if it is used at all. The writing with a following *e* offered another possible variant in such cases which came to be

<sup>4</sup> Nasals and *p* and *f* are not written double in final position, and *b* and *r* rarely so. In peculiarly Norwegian words *n* is often written double, however, as, e.g., *fønn*. See more fully Aars: Norske Retskrivningsregler, §§ 8 and 36-38.

<sup>5</sup> The double vowel *aa*, of course, nowhere represents *ā*, but always the sound *ø*, i.e., open *o*. It may be long or short: *Aasen*, *Aarrestad*.



extensively used. The name *Mohn* might, then, be written *Moen*, a form which also survives to-day; or the same name with vocalic ending became *Moe* for older *Mo*. This device appears, further, in *Boe*, *Bøe*, *Daae*, *Høeg*, *Grief*, *Aae*, *Boen*, *Diesen*, and a few others. In *Piehl* and *Leehvy* both methods are used in the same name. By such variant ways of designating the length of the vowel, all of which were used in native words and were felt to be natural enough at the time, a name could be differentiated in many ways. Most of these names are not pleasing to the eye to-day, but they probably were then, and while their use meant some waste in printer's ink there was a practical side which had a distinct advantage; and it is that practical advantage which has been maintained when the name *Mo* or *Moe* may in the definite form also be written *Mohn*, or when the name *Hval* or *Val* by the variation with *w* may also be spelled *Vahl*, *Vaal*, *Wahl*, or *Waal*.

There was another practice also which came into vogue principally through the agency of German printers, namely that of writing *ae* for *a*, *oe* for *o* and *ü* for *y*. The first two of these conflicted with that of the use of *e* as a mark of length of the preceding vowel, and that may have operated against their becoming very general. They remain to-day in the names *Baer*, *Braemer*, *Schroeder* or *Schroeter*, *Hoerlin* and *Kroepelin*. *Grüner* and *Hütten* and *Schütte* are examples of the writing of *ü* for *y*. Still other variants for *y* were *ui*, *ieu* and *eu*, which are preserved in at least one name each to-day: *Luihn* pronounced *Lyn*, *Lieungh* pronounced *Lyng*, and *Wleugel* pronounced *Flygel*.

Another kind of vocalic variation is illustrated by the names *Haug* and *Ousdal*. In Old Norwegian the sound *au* might be written either *au* or *ou*. To-day the spelling here is regularly *au*, which in modern Norwegian is the unphonetic representative of the sound *æu*. Such names as *Haug*, *Saue*, *Bauge*, *Kaupang*, and *Austbø* are therefore in accord with the present orthography of the language, but other spellings for the sound *æu* are not. The spelling with *ou* is in part a survival of this form from Old Norwegian times and in part due to Danish influence, where this spelling was more common. We now have this method of writing in the names: *Ouse*, *Ousdal*, *Oustsphen*, *Schou*, *Stousland*, *Houge*, *Aschehoug*, *Poulson*, and in some other cases. The combination *eu* is not a Norwegian

or a Scandinavian combination at all. It occurs by exception in the name *Europa* for *æu*, but occurs more often in personal names with other phonetic value. Thus in the names *Heuch*, pronounced *Høk*, *Leuck*, pronounced *Løk*, *Freuchen*, pronounced *Frøken*, and *Valeur*, pronounced *Valør*, *eu* has the value of *ø*. This spelling clearly comes from French. But in the names *Preus*, *Reusch* and *Reutz*, *eu* is sounded *øi*. Thus we have in these names a German spelling preserved; and in fact these three names are of German origin, *Reusch* and *Reutz* being German proper names, while *Preus*, as a proper name, comes from being used in Norway of one who was from "Preussen" (or was a "Preusser").<sup>6</sup>

But the possible consonantal variations are, of course, still more numerous, and a very large number of names preserve to-day consonantal combinations that are never used in the words of the language. These are orthographic survivals from an earlier period in the language when the written language was more lavish in the use of consonants than it is to-day. We have seen above that a double consonant is written to-day only where the consonant so written is actually long, as in *bakke*. Formerly, however, no such economy was practiced, nor recognized as proper even by some, for a heaping up of consonants, especially the same consonant, was often looked upon as lending beauty to the name or the word. It is as survivals from this period that we to-day meet with such forms as *Juell*, *Aall*, *Wrangell*, *Pauss*, *Dorff*, *Wisløff*, and *Staff*. The *f* in the last two names is explained by the practice of writing *f* or *fv* (*vf*) for the sound *v* after a vowel; it occurs, furthermore, in the names *Rafn* and *Ravfn*, *Haffner*, *Vefring*, and the patronymic *Gustafson*, names which are also written with *v*.

In Old Norwegian times it was quite common to write a long *k* sound not with *kk* but with *ck*; some scribes follow this rule consistently. Such a word as *bakke*, the old form of which was most commonly *bakki*, was therefore spelled *backi*. This spelling now appears in such names as *Backe*, *Kock*, *Beck*, *Brecke*, *Løcken*, and *Birck*. But at a later time this was not so regularly adhered to; *ck* might also be written for single *k*, and *ch* or even *cch* employed

<sup>6</sup> Other names of this kind are: *Sweitz*, *Unger*, *Beyer*, *Saxe*, *Russ*, *Finne*, *Scott*, *Holst* (<*Holsten*), and *Hambro* (English form of *Hamburg*). Cp. also the names: *England*, *Holland*, and *Sverige*.

for *ck* (*kk*). Thus arose the forms *Bache* and *Bachke*, *Falch* by the side of *Falk*, *Birch* and *Borch* beside *Birck* and *Borck*, *Eche*, *Lerche*, *Skanche* and a number of others, among them *Erichson* (*Erickson*) and *Michelson*, which last name is of course but a different way of writing *Mikkelson*. The *k* sound was, furthermore, also written *qu*, which usually, however, was only used for *kv*. Then might arise such forms as *Beque*, and *Bloque*, while *Quigstad*, *Quam*, *Quale* have been common until quite recently. *C* is not a consonant that is much used in modern Norwegian. It was much more extensively employed in Old Norwegian and in a great variety of positions in Middle Norwegian. Yet before *l*, *rl* and *n* it was better form to write *k*; but such modern Norwegian names as *Clewe*, beside *Kleve* and *Kleiven*, *Coll*, *Coch*, *Caspari*, for *Kasperson*, and *Cleveland*, for *Kleveland*, exhibit the former use of *c* also in these positions.

The writing of *h* in consonant combinations is no longer a part of Norwegian orthography, for the language no longer has the spirantal sounds which *h* formerly served to symbolize in the spelling. But the sound which exists in English 'thin' and 'then' was as common in Old Norse as it is in modern English, though it did not quite correspond in its use to either that of English or modern Danish. In Middle Norwegian times this sound came to be written *th*, and this spelling in words and names continued in vogue long after the sound had become *t* and *d*, in fact it is still retained in the word *thi*, 'for.' The writing *th* is, however, still kept in a number of proper names, as: *Thveit* or *Thvedt*, *Sæthre*, *Lpseth*, *Alseth*, *Hiorth*, *Lothe*, *Bothne*, *Schaathun* and *Groth*. The name *Thvedt* exhibits another tendency, namely that of writing the final *t* sound as *dt*, something which also survives in the names *Mordt*, *Mordtvet*, *Sundt*, *Brandt*, *Schiødt*,<sup>7</sup> *Widtsoe* and *Bødcher*.<sup>8</sup> The combination of *dt* and *th* is seen in the writing *Smidth*.<sup>9</sup>

But in most of these the merely orthographic consonant is not usually retained at present. It was also very common in the XVIth and the XVIIth century to write *i* for *j*, while on the other hand *j* might also serve for the vowel *i*. That is actually the case now in

<sup>7</sup> *Schiødt* is also written *Schiøtt*.

<sup>8</sup> Personal names ending in the sound *ts* represent this ending by *dtz* in *Bergens Borgerbag*, e.g., *Madtz*, *Lauriltz*, and *Frandt*.

<sup>9</sup> Also in the name *Smith* which is now and then still met with in the form *Smidt*.

such names as *Hiorth*, and *Kiær*, and in the names of the composer *Kierulf* and the poet *Bierregaard*.

It will now be in order to note the influence of the Danish literary form upon the names of the families of the cities and upon the place-names and the farm names of the rural districts as they appear in the charters and other written records. First of all there are quite a number of family names that are of Danish origin directly, the names of Danish families that settled in Norway during the centuries in which Norway was united with Denmark. Such names as *Arbo*, an *Æro-bo*, *Wendelbo*, from *Vendsyssel*, and *Thybo*, a settler from Thy in Jutland, are in general easily recognizable. Similarly *Samsing* is derived from *Samsø* and *Alsing* from *Als*, Demark. In the same class belong also *Angell*, *Stabel*, *Høyer* and *Hersleb* (from *Herslev*)<sup>10</sup>, all of which are from Sleswick *Wiborg*, *Thaulow*, *Schweigaard*, *Gude* and *Randers*, which are of Jutland origin, and *Feilberg*, *Schandorff*, and names in *-rup* as *Hagerup*, *Nærup*, *Aarestrup*, *Torup* and *Scheldrup*. On the other hand it is not always so certain that a name ending in *-skov* or *-schow* is of Danish origin, for the word *skog* becomes *skov* and *skou(schow)* in certain parts of Eastern Norway. Such a name as *Treschow* appearing originally in this dialectal locality is therefore to be set down as native unless it is known that the family immigrated from Denmark. And there furthermore enters in such cases the problem of Danish influence upon the form of the name, for just as one would write *skov* and *vig* even though the writer's pronunciation was *skog* and *vik* so names with these endings would come to assume the Danish spelling.

Another criterion of the Danish factor in the names is one which has already thus been suggested, namely the influence of Danish upon the orthography of Norwegian names. This class of names is of course very large, first in the cities where Danish forms were the fashion and where Danish speech was quite generally cultivated, then also in the changes that were made in the written form of family and place-names in the rural districts everywhere. The church records from the various parishes here offer illustrative material of great interest. I shall take a series of names from Sogn copied from the yet unprinted volume of Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne* of names for North Bergenhus.<sup>11</sup> The name *Steine* in Aur-

<sup>10</sup> Modern Teutonized form *Hadersleben*.

<sup>11</sup> The MS. of which I had the opportunity of consulting at the Riksarkiv in Christiania in July, 1910.

land, the local pronunciation of which is *Staine* to-day, appears in the form *Steene* in a Charter of 1611, while *Stein* appears as *Steen* in one of 1603. The name *Veim*, to-day pronounce *Vaim*, was written *Veem*, *Veeum*, and *Weden*. *Fretheim* was written *Frettem* and *Fretten*, just as *Norheim* was elsewhere written *Norem*. In both of these cases *-heim*, being in unaccented position, might become *-hem* or *-em* by native development, but as they say *Frettain* in Aurland to-day the writing *Frettem* in this case is clearly a Danism (in America the form *Frettem* is an attempt to adapt the ending to the English tongue). The name *Leikanger* was written *Leckanger* as early as 1544; later it was written *Leganger*, and I have heard it so pronounced by immigrants in America who came from that locality. The official name of the parish is to-day *Leikanger*. The old *Systrend* is written *Systrandh* in a Charter of 1401 and still further changed to *Søstrand* in one of 1570. The estate name *Hove*, pronounced *Haav* to-day, is written *Hoff* in a Charter of 1563 and *Hoffue* in one of 1667. *Borlaug*, which seems to be pronounced *Borlaag* in *Leikanger* to-day, was variously written *Baarlouff*, *Borloff*, *Bwrlle*, and *Borloug*, while the name *Rislaag* in *Vik* Parish was written *Rislaa*, *Risla*, *Rislef* and *Rislaug*; finally *Djupvik* appears as *Dyffwig* in 1563, *Dybewig* in 1667, and, in partial return to the local pronunciation, *Diubevig* in 1723.

The usual tests of Danish origin of words and names are those which have to do with the vowels *e* for *ei*, *ø* for *au* or *ey*, and the consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, for *p*, *t*, *k*. These tests must be used, however, only in connection with other tests, else one may often be led to faulty conclusions with many a Norwegian name; just as the exact extent of Danish influence upon *Riksmaal* Norwegian is a subject with regard to which we are just at present in no position to speak with definiteness. As a test of a merely general character, however, it may be said that where Norwegian names are spelled with *b*, *d*, *g*, in stems which ordinarily are pronounced with *p*, *t*, *k*, such spelling is due to Danish influence. Thus the names *Eg*, *Eger*, *Hoeg*, *Vig*, and *Bager* have Danish orthography though they are almost everywhere pronounced with the Norwegian *k*; and the names *Hvidsteen*, *Gade* and *Wergeland* have assumed Danish pronunciation as well as Danish spelling. The name *Hoeg* is quite a hybrid by the way; it is pronounced *Høk*, hence retains the Norwegian *k*, but it has

adopted the Danish vowel  $\phi$  for the diphthong *au* which was the original (*Hauk*). There are furthermore a number of other cases of undoubted Danish influence upon the spelling of Norwegian names; space does not, however, allow a discussion of these here.

It was illustrated above how genuine Norwegian names have in the course of their history come to assume forms that are apparently English or German. Now there are of course many names of this kind which are known to be of foreign origin. The *Bennett* Tourist Bureau in Christiania bears the name of an Englishman who settled in Christiania in 1850. *Dessington* is also the name of an English settler; the name first appears in 1670 in Norway and was then written *Dishington*. The name also appears, e.g., in the margin of an old Norwegian manuscript fragment, indicating that the Ms. was the property of that family at this time. *Fearnley* and *Barclay* are also English as well as the name *Lockwood* in Bergen. These names have of course been adapted to the Norwegian system of pronunciation; *Lockwood*, e.g., is pronounced *Lokfot*, *Barclay* becomes *Barclei* and *Fearnley*, *Fernlei*. Scotch names are much more numerous than English. Especially in Bergen are Scotch forms common. The list includes *Campbel*, *Christie*, *Grieg* and *Munchler*. The Christiania name *Collet* is of Scotch origin; Scotch also was the (Nordland) name of the poet *Dass* from *Dundass*. Other Scotch names in Norway are *Ross*, *Wallace*, *Sinklar* (St. Clair) and *Mitzel*, the last of which is an attempt at representing orthographically the pronunciation *Mitchel*. The name of the composer *Grieg* represents a most unusual mixture of forms in a transplanted name. The word from which the name originates is *crag* in its Scotch dialect form *craig*. The *c* in the name *Craig*, as pronounced by the Scotch tongue sounded to the people of Bergen more like *g* than like their own *k*, so they naturally fell to pronouncing it *Graig*. But in the year 1704 we find the Danish writing of it to be *Greeg*, which would indicate that already then the name was pronounced about as to-day. This would seem to be a Danish influence upon its form, for the vowel *ai* (= *ei*, *ei*) is not unnatural to Bergenese Norwegian. A Dane would have pronounced *Graig* with a monophthong, that, however, would soon have become *Greeg*, just as *Stein* became *Steen*. But it is likely that the Danish influence was chiefly orthographic. We should

then have been writing it *Greeg* to-day; that we do not write it so is due to German influence on the writing of long *e* (see above), and in Bergen we know German influence was especially prominent.

Both Germany and The Netherlands have contributed their share to the racial make-up of Norway. There are, e.g., the names *Wegener*, *Wedel*, *Vedeler*, *Brunchorst*, *Fasting*, and *Welhaven* in Bergen, *Plesner* and *von der Lippe* in Skien, and other names elsewhere, some of them well-known as *Fritzner*, the author of the great *Gammel Norsk Ordbog*, *Elster*, *Zwilmeyer* and *Obstfelder*, living novelists, *Asperheim*, *Keilhau*, *Reichwein*, *Falbe*, *Wiese*, *Krefting*, *Seippel*, *Koren*, *Lieblein*, *Frich*, *Heinemann*, *Henning*, *Heffermehl*, *Foswinckel*, *Damm*, *Lammers*, *Irgens*, and a number of others. Names beginning with *Sch-* are often of German origin as *Schubeler*, *Schniller*, and *Schwartz*, but as we have seen above, elsewhere this combination may, as in *Schwentsen*, pronounced *Svensen*, or even in the name *Schwach*, be but a survival of an earlier peculiarity in the spelling.<sup>12</sup> The Dutch element is represented in such names as *Flemming* (from *Flaming*), *Friis* (from *Friesland*), *Joys*, *Reisiger*, *van der Heyde*, *van der Velde*, *Ohldieck*, *Geelmuyden*, *Wilgohs*, *Wleugel* (see above), *Blauw* in Bergen, *Groth*, which is the same as Dutch *Grote* and *Grotius*, and *Worm*, a name which appears in Norway as early as 1680. There are also other foreign sources though in much more limited numbers. From the French are the names: *Aubert* (the novelist *Elise Aubert*), *Michelet*, *Coucheron* in Bergen, and *Racine* in Stavanger. Then there is the Italian *Sperati*, The Swiss names *Tschudy* (author *Clara Tschudy*) in *Tønsberg*, *Trumpy* in Bergen, *Hefstye* and *Switzer*, the Lithuanian names in *-ou* or *-ow*, as *Konow*, *Platou*,<sup>13</sup> *Reventlow*, and *Linstow*, and those in *-itz* or *-itsch* which are of Bohemian or other Slavic source, as *Zetlitz*, *Jackwitz*, and *Hilditsch*, which last is represented by the novelist *Jacob Hilditsch*. Finally Swedish settlers in Norway have contributed the names *Forsberg*, *Alstergreen*, *Lindqvist*, *Marstrander*, *Wrangel* and Many others.

Norwegian Names reflect, then, everywhere the peoples' varied history and the changes of fashion in the language itself. The story that the names of the places and the families of a country reveal are

<sup>12</sup> See above *Schwenche* < *Svenke* < *Svenkerud*.

<sup>13</sup> *Platou* is now pronounced *Platoeu*. See above, p. 146.

interesting from these somewhat general points of view. But they are often equally interesting from the more purely grammatical point of view. Especially the place-names of the rural districts offer here an attractive field for study; The variety of form which we have observed are largely orthographic of one kind or another. In the place-names, however, the variations most often have a grammatical basis. I shall close by indicating one of the ways in which proper names have been individualized, more definitely particularized, by the survival of different grammatical forms of the nouns that are the materials out of which they are made.

We know that place-names often have originated from some local peculiarity; such names we designate as local-descriptive. Among the most common ones of this kind are: *Aas, Dahl, Moe, Vold, Haug, Tveit, Lie, and Slette*. When they appear in this form these names are in the indefinite inflexional form of the noun from which they are formed. Names of this type are quite common, most often as monosyllables; among them are further: *Borg, Odd, Sæter, Foss, Staff, Sten, Krogh, Vang, Berg, Fjeld, Næss, Bø, Lund, Strøm*, etc. Fully as frequent, however, is the inflexionally definite form, something which is easily explained in the simple fact that the hill, the clearing, or the ridge where the dwelling was erected, would naturally come to be particularized more familiarly as "*the hill*," "*the ridge*," etc. Hence the names: *Haugen, Dahlen, Aasen, Odden, Tveiten, Sletten, Kroken, Mohn, Vangen, Stødlen, Garden Kleiven*, etc. But it was not only the nominative case that gave rise to name-forms. The preposition that was formerly used so commonly with such place-names, and still is to some extent in the rural districts (as *Ivar i Vangen*), when dropped left the name sometimes in the dative case with the ending *-e*. This very common form is represented in the names: *Dahle, Hauge, Kvale, Velde* (from *Vold*), *Borge, Sande, Lande, Sætre, Hegge, Fosse, Hove, Rothe, Egge, Hamre, Homme, Saue, Steene, Brekke, Lunde, Grove, Kleppe*, etc. Or finally this case-form might be in the plural, something that was not so usual but not at all rare. Thus the dative plural survives in the names: *Eggum, Elvrum, Drolsum, Haugom, Narum, Nærum, Tinjum, Stønjum, Sveum, Sviggum, Vullum, Boyum, Brennum, Engum, Fossum, Gjellum, and Veum*. Thus on the basis of different inflexional forms, Norwegian as the Scandinavian



languages in general, possessed another convenient instrument of name particularization, one which has indeed played a prominent part in the development of the place-names and the family names of the country.

*The University of Illinois.*

GEORGE T. FLOM.